

## Message Text

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C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 144666

BELGRADE FOR USDEL CSCE

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: CSCE, NATO

SUBJECT: POLADS DISCUSSION OF CSCE THEMES

1. DEPARTMENT HAS CAREFULLY STUDIED UK, CANADIAN AND IS  
PAPERS ON THEMES FOR THE BELGRADE MEETING. AS NOTED  
IN STATE 126756 , WE BELIEVE THAT THE UK PAPER PROVIDES  
A GOOD FOUNDATION FOR A COMMON ALLIANCE DOCUMENT. THIS  
MESSAGE PROVIDES THE DEPARTMENT'S VIEWS ON ORGANIZATION  
AND CONTENT OF A COMMON PAPER. OUR PROMISED CONTRIBUTION  
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OF AGREED APPRAISAL STATEMENTS WILL BE TRANSMITTED IN  
SEPTTEL AS SOON AS IT IS COMPLETED. A PROPOSED REDRAFT  
OF THE INTRODUCTORY SECTION OF THE UK PAPER WHICH INCOR-  
PORATES DEPARTMENT'S VIEWS ON ORGANIZATION AND CONTENT  
OF THE THEMES PAPER IS BEING TRANSMITTED IN SEPTTEL.

2. GENERAL: THE DEPARTMENT'S CONCEPT OF THE THEMES

PAPER IS THAT IT SHOULD PROVIDE A BASIC UNDERPINNING FOR THE APPROACH TAKEN BY WESTERN NEGOTIATORS AT BELGRADE. PROCEEDING FROM THE AGREED POSITIONS SET FORTH IN C-M (77)29, IT SHOULD CONTAIN A SUCCINCT STATEMENT OF WESTERN GOALS IN EACH OF THE MAJOR SUBJECT AREAS, ALONG WITH A LIST OF THEMES WHICH COULD BE STRESSED IN WORKING TO ACHIEVE OUR NEGOTIATING OBJECTIVES. WE DO NOT SEE THE PAPER AS A DEFENSIVE BRIEF FOR USE IN MEETING COMMUNIST

ARGUMENTS ON NON-IMPLEMENTATION, BUT RATHER AS A STATEMENT OF THE OVERALL CONCEPTUAL APPROACH WE WISH TO TAKE IN BELGRADE.

3. FOLLOWING FROM THIS BASIC APPROACH, THE DEPARTMENT BELIEVES THE FINAL THEMES PAPER SHOULD INCLUDE THE FOLLOWING ELEMENTS:

A. STATEMENTS OF THE BASIC WESTERN GOALS IN EACH SPECIFIC SUBJECT AREA WHICH WE WISH TO ACHIEVE IN BELGRADE.

B. A DESCRIPTION OF EXPECTED EASTERN POSITIONS. THIS STATEMENT WOULD NOT BE LIMITED TO LISTING EASTERN OBSTACLES TO IMPLEMENTATION AS SUGGESTED BY THE IS REP (USNATO 3932). IT SHOULD GIVE A SHORT STATEMENT OF EXPECTED EASTERN ARGUMENT WITH WHICH THE WEST WILL HAVE TO DEAL.

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C. DETAILED STATEMENT OF THEMES. THE INTRODUCTORY STATEMENTS SET FORTH IN PARAS 3A AND 3B ABOVE WOULD BE FOLLOWED BY A DETAILED LISTING OF THEMES ALONG THE LINES OF THE UK PAPER, TAKING INTO ACCOUNT DETAILED COMMENTS TRANSMITTED BELOW.

D. DRAFT APPRAISAL STATEMENTS. OUR COMMENTS ON DRAFT APPRAISAL STATEMENTS ARE CONTAINED IN STATE 132824. STATEMENT FOR EACH SECTION OF THE FINAL ACT WOULD BE INCLUDED AFTER THE LISTING OF DETAILED THEMES IN THE THEMES PAPER.

4. DETAILED COMMENTS ON UK, CANADIAN AND IS PAPERS ARE AS FOLLOWS:

A. DEPARTMENT BELIEVES THAT IN GENERAL, CONTENT OF THEMES PROPOSED BY UK AND IS ARE APPROPRIATE FOR COMMON NATO PAPER. WE WOULD, HOWEVER, SUGGEST THAT IN ADDITION TO THE INTRODUCTORY LANGUAGE PROPOSED ABOVE, THE INDIVIDUAL SECTIONS OF THE PAPER WOULD BE IMPROVED IF SOME OF THE THEMES WOULD BE COMBINED INTO LONGER

STATEMENTS OF THE WESTERN POSITION. THIS SUGGESTION FOLLOWS OUR BELIEF THAT THE THEMES PAPER SHOULD TO THE EXTENT POSSIBLE GIVE A CONCEPTUAL UNDERPINNING TO THE WESTERN POSITION AT BELGRADE. AS NOW PRESENTED, SOME OF THE THEMES ARE DIFFICULT TO PLACE IN A BROADER CONTEXT. WE BELIEVE THIS IS ESPECIALLY THE CASE FOR THE THEMES IN THE INTRODUCTION AND IN THE SECTION ON PRINCIPLES, WHERE SPECIFIC EXPERIENCE WITH IMPLEMENTATION IS NOT AS PERTINENT AS IN BASKETS 11 AND 111. AS PRESENLY DRAFTED, THE UK PAPER DOES NOT PROVIDE AN OVERALL STRATEGY

FOR DEALING WITH THE EXPECTED EASTERN POSITION ON THE PRINCIPLES. WE BELIEVE THAT MORE INTRODUCTORY LANGUAGE IS NECESSARY AND THAT AN OVERALL STRATEGY FOR DEALING

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WITH THE PRINCIPLES NEEDS TO BE DEVELOPED.

B. CBMS: THE PROPOSED UK CBM THEMES SUPPLEMENT THOSE WHICH THE US PROPOSED IN PARA 4(C) OF STATE 115392. WHEN COMBINED WITH THE US PROPOSALS, THE UK THEMES WOULD PROVIDE A GENERAL STATEMENT ON CBM REVIEW ALONG WITH THE MORE SPECIFIC STATEMENTS CONTAINED IN THE US PROPOSALS. OUR FIRST FOUR PROPOSED THEMES WOULD EXPAND UK THEME (IV); OUR FIFTH AND SEVENTH THEMES COULD FOLLOW UK PROPOSAL (VI); AND OUR SIXTH PROPOSAL MIGHT INTRODUCE THE LANGUAGE OF UK PROPOSED THEME (II). WE BELIEVE THE CANADIAN PROPOSED THEME ON DISARMAMENT COULD BE MISINTERPRETED AS ENCOURAGING MAJOR DISCUSSION ON DISARMAMENT AND SUGGEST INSTEAD THAT ANY DISARMAMENT THEME CLOSELY FOLLOW THE GUIDELINES OF C-M(77)29 (FINAL). SEE ALSO PARA. 2E(1) OF STATE 130422.

C. HUMAN RIGHTS: DEPARTMENT IS INTERESTED IN PROPOSAL IN THE CANADIAN THEMES PAPER CALLING FOR MORE CONCRETE REFERENCE TO INTERNATIONAL DECLARATIONS AND AGREEMENTS IN THE FIELD OF HUMAN RIGHTS (PARA. I(A)). THE IDEA SEEMS TO US TO BE A WAY OF INCLUDING REFERENCE TO CONCRETE COMMITMENTS IN THE HUMAN RIGHTS FIELD TO WHICH MOST PARTICIPANTS HAVE ALREADY SUBSCRIBED OR ARE IN THE PROCESS OF DOING SO (US FALLS IN THIS LATTER CATEGORY). PENDING FURTHER STUDY OF THE IDEA, WE WOULD BE INTERESTED IN VIEWS OF OTHER ALLIES ON THIS THEME.

5. FURTHER WORK ON THEMES: COMMENTS AND PROPOSALS ON THEMES HAVE NOW BEEN RECEIVED FROM SEVERAL SOURCES. WE BELIEVE THAT THE NEXT STEP IN THE PROCESS SHOULD BE TO COMBINE THESE IDEAS INTO A COMMON DRAFT WHICH

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CAN BE CIRCULATED FOR COMMENTS BY GOVERNMENTS. DURING  
POLADS DISCUSSION OF THEMES, MISSION SHOULD PROPOSE  
THAT IS COMPILE SUCH A DRAFT FOR CIRCULATION.

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